SOCIAL ACTION

MARYGROVE COLLEGE
INTERNATIONAL ROOM

VOL. 13 AUGUST 1963

"PACEM IN TERRIS"

⟨ Peace on Earth ⟩

The latest Papal Encyclical

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INDIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE.

SOCIAL ACTION

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413 THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

422 THE INDIVIDUAL, THE PERSON AND SOCIETY

431 INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

438 "PACEM IN TERRIS" AND THE WORLD PRESS

447 "PACEM IN TERRIS" AT THE U. N.

455 FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

461 FROM THE WORLD OF JOURNALS

471 BOOK REVIEWS

473 NEWS AND COMMENT

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SOCIAL ACTION

VOL. 13 NO. 8 AUGUST 1963

The Foundations of Peace

A. Fonseca

The last encyclical of the late Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris" (Peace on Earth), published last Easter, is one of the most remarkable documents to come out of the Vatican. Happily addressed not only to members of the Roman Catholic Church but also "to all men of good will", the Pope's letter is remarkable for the freshness, depth and clarity of its message. This article is a brief summary of the encyclical. The articles that follow take up in detail different aspects of the encyclical.

In some ways the encyclical gives one the impression of being ahead of its time. And the reason is probably that the principles it enunciates are so basically true to the nature of man and human society that they help to link and bind the past with the present and the future. There is no break here but an adjustment to novel condiitions without a betrayal of those fundamental values that are basic to human existence and civilization.

Reason and Freedom

A fundamental attribute of man enshrined in the encyclical is his endowment with reason and freedom. He can think and he can choose. This makes him a human person with rights and duties. As a person man is a part of a whole and at the same time a whole in himself. He is a being endowed with rights inherent in human nature, God-given rights that are universal, inviolable and inalienable.

The progress of science and technology, says the Holy Father, reveals the amazing order in the world around us. The turmoil of individual men and people contrasts strongly with the perfect order of the universe. It is as if only force could bind men together and control their relationships with one another. The Creator has however implanted in man's heart an order which his conscience reveals to him and enjoins him to obey. It should be realised that the laws which bind men together are different from those of irrational and material nature. They belong to a higher, essentially spiritual order. Man's reason and freedom must be respected in building an orderly human world.

Human Rights

To achieve such an order, men must have the fullest opportunity to exercise their rights and must be trained to respect the rights of others spontaneously. The Pope outlines a list of rights we are all so familiar with in the economic, social and political order. He mentions the right to life and bodily integrity, the right to social security and insurance, basic education and technical and professional training, the right of worship privately and publicly and to follow the dictates of an upright conscience, the right to free initiative in the economic field and the right to work, to a just wage and to private property, even of productive goods, the right to assemble and to form associations for their common good. Indeed the remarkable growth in the modern world of a large variety of associations of men is to be welcomed, because they guarantee for the human person a sufficient sphere of freedom and responsibility. The right to emigrate to other countries is mentioned as well as the right to take an active part in public affairs.

Duties

Corresponding to rights there are duties and responsibilities. Since men are social by nature they are meant to live with others and to work for one another's welfare. A well-

ordered human society requires men recognize and observe their mutual duties, and contribute generously to the establishment of a civic order in which rights and duties are more progressively, more sincerely and effectively acknowledged and fulfilled.

Indeed in the mind of the Pope " human society ought to be regarded above all as a spiritual reality : in which men communicate knowledge to each other in the light of truth ; in which they can enjoy their rights and fulfil their duties, and are inspired to strive for moral good. Society should enable men to share in and enjoy every legitimate expression of beauty, and encourage them constantly to pass on to others all that is best in themselves, while they strive to make their own the spiritual achievements of others. These are the spiritual values which continually give life and basic orientation to cultural expressions, economic and social institutions, political movements and forms, laws and all others structures by which society is outwordly established and constantly developed ".

Modern Society

The Pope is quick to notice three distinctive characteristics of modern society. First of all there is the growing participation of the working classes in economic and public affairs. They refuse to be treated as irrational objects without freedom. They insist that they be regarded as men with a share in every sector of human society. Secondly, as remarkable a development is the part that women are now playing in public life. Thirdly, the former domination of one nation over another with its corresponding superiority complex has almost disappeared. All men are equal and racial discrimination is no longer justified.

Individual and State

Dealing with the relations between the individual and the state the Pope reminds those in authority that all authority

of one man over another comes from God. But authority is not to be thought of as a force lacking all control ; since it is the power to command according to right reason, it must derive its obligatory force from the moral order. Hence it must appeal primarily to the conscience of individual citizens, i.e. to each one's duty to collaborate readily for the common good of all.

It must not be concluded however that because authority comes from God, therefore men have no right to choose those who are to rule the state, to decide the form of government, and to determine both the way in which authority is to be exercised and its limits. Such teaching is fully consonant with any democratic regime.

To achieve the common good is the essential reason for the State's existence. The Pope takes pains to define what is to be understood by the common good. It embraces *the sum total of those conditions of social living whereby men are enabled to achieve their own integral perfection more fully and more easily.* It can be realised only when the state acknowledges, respects, co-ordinates defends and promotes individual rights, so that each citizen may more easily carry out his duties. Hence the work of the administration will be to attend to the economic development of the citizens, provide essential services, such as communications, water supply, housing, public health, education, facilities for re-creation and the practice of religion, insurance and employment opportunities, etc. The Pope warns against the authority of the state being used to favour any particular individual or party. Further in protecting rights, Government should allow full play for individual initiative and liberty.

Fundamental rights are nowadays sought to be enshrined in written constitutions. This meets with the Pope's fullest approval. But he rejects the theory of the general will as being the origin of these rights and the source of governmental authority.

States

Just like individuals, states are the subjects of rights and duties. Their relationships with each other, must be based on truth, justice, working solidarity and liberty. The function of a diplomat is not to lie for the sake of his country. He is bound by the moral law just as anyone else. Harmonious relations between states are only possible when the prescriptions of the moral order are respected. This requires that every trace of racism be eliminated. Every state must be recognized as equal in dignity to every other. Each state is vested with a right to existence, self-development and the means to attain these ends. It has a right to its good name, and to the respect which is its due. The communities that are advanced either economically or politically should not take unjust advantage of their superiority over others. Rather should they see in it an added motive for more serious commitment to the common cause of social progress.

Justice requires each state to recognize its rights and fulfil its duties. Within the confines of the state, the Pope wishes that minority rights should be respected, and the state must promote their natural betterment particularly in respect to language, natural gifts, ancestral customs and their accomplishments and endeavours in the economic order.

Among themselves, states would benefit greatly from active solidarity through mutual co-operation on various levels, as has already taken place on the economic, social, political, educational, health sportive levels. The Pope further argues that since civil authority exists not to confine its people within the boundaries of their nation, but rather to protect their common good, every state should join forces with other states whenever the efforts of an individual government cannot achieve its desired goals. Indeed various ethnic groups should not be prevented from communicating with their fellowmen. They have the right and the duty to live in communion with one another.

Refugees

The Holy Father expresses his grief over the unfortunate situation of political refugees which is a common occurrence in our times. Such exiles are persons and should not lose rights as persons even if they lose their rights of citizenship. Among the rights of a person there should be included the right by which a man may enter a political community where he hopes he can more fittingly provide a future for himself and his dependants. The State must accept such immigrants and help to integrate them into itself as new members.

Disarmament

As for disarmament among the nations, the Pope offers his solution in a telling sentence : " the true and solid peace of nations consists not in equality of arms but in mutual trust alone." This is eminently desirable in the present context of stockpiling of nuclear weapons and where people live in constant fear of the dreadful calamity awaiting them at any moment. Such peace can be achieved with goodwill and adjustment founded on mutual trust, on sincerity in negotiations, and on faithful fulfilment of obligations assumed.

Lastly, the relations between states should be based on freedom. No country may unjustly oppress others or unduly meddle in their affairs. Since all men form a single human family, the economically developed nations should come to the assistance of those in the process of development. But in giving such co-operation the wealthier states should respect the moral values and ethnic characteristics of those nations they assist, and they should avoid any intention of political domination.

The Pope is happy to discover that men are becoming more and more convinced that disputes between states should not be resolved by recourse to arms but by negotiation. And this brings him to the final section of his encyclical on the relations between individuals and nations and the world community.

Interdependence

No political community today, he writes, is able to pursue its own interests and develop itself in isolation. The interdependence of national communities has grown deeper ; they are becoming integral parts as it were of one world community. The social security, order, peace and progress of one country is necessarily connected with that of all other countries. As a result of these changes, the universal common good gives rise to problems that are complex, very grave, and extremely urgent for security and world peace.

These international problems can only be solved by the setting up of a new institution endowed with world-wide power and the proper means to achieve efficaciously the universal common good in concrete form. Such an authority must be able to operate effectively, and at the same time with real impartiality and sincerity. In order not to become an instrument in the hands of a few nations, this universal authority should have as its fundamental objective the recognition respect, safeguarding and promotion of the rights of the human person. Its purpose is not meant to limit the sphere of action of state governments, but rather to create on a world basis an environment in which national governments can carry out their tasks, fulfil their duties and exercise their rights with greater security.

U. N. O.

The Pope sees his directions followed to a large extent through the United Nations Organization. He considers as an act of the highest importance the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948. This document recognizes the dignity of the human person ; and proclaims as a result the right of free movement in the search for truth and in the attainment of moral good and of justice. He wishes that the U. N. O. become more and more fitted to play its crucial role in the uplift of mankind by ensuring universal security, and the safeguardng of human rights.

Duties of Catholics

The final portion of the encyclical is taken up with an exhortation to his own subjects to play their full part in public life. It is their duty to transform the institutions of society into fit instruments for human uplift and they must do this from within, by active participation and their dedication to service. This requires that they should know the mind of the Church on the social problems of our times and bring the institutions of society into conformity with this pattern. In this endeavour, they should co-operate with all men of good will, for the principles laid down by the Pope are based on Natural Law that all men must admit. But what of those who follow an ideology that is contradictory to Christian faith and ethics. The Pope is careful to make the distinction between error and the person who errs. The person who errs, he writes, is always and above all a human being, and he retains in every case his dignity as a human person; and he must always be regarded and treated in accordance with that lofty dignity. He has moreover human needs and he can be brought to see the truth one day.

Neither on the other hand, can false philosophical teachings regarding the nature, origin and destiny of man be identified with historical movements and their economic, social and political ramifications. The ideology often remains the same, but the movements, since they are implicated with constant change in the human environment, cannot escape being subject to these changes, even of a profound nature.

Hence a meeting of minds on some practical plane and working for a common object can often help to expel prejudice and error.

It is on this very liberal and tolerant note that the encyclical comes to a close. The keynote to the entire encyclical is the central position that the Pope accords to the human person. The rights of that person form the significant basic

elements for the protection and exercise of which the state exists and possesses authority. And all the energies of the state, both at the national and international level, must be exercised with this main purpose in view, — the full moral and social development of the person through the exercise of his rights and performance of his duties. Cutting right down through the welter of group life to the individual, and placing that individual on the focal point of his vision for an orderly society, the Pope has rendered mankind the great service indeed of laying bare the very foundations of democracy and at the same time outlining the spiritual sources of a new humanism that is called for by the extraordinary developments of twentieth century science and technology. No wonder that the encyclical has received such a world wide welcome. Its influence for the formation of a universal community on mutually agreeable foundations is bound to bring the world one step nearer to peace.

THE INDIVIDUAL, THE PERSON AND SOCIETY

A. Lallemand*

The fundamental principle of the whole Christian conception of society, namely the dignity of the human personality, — which recurs throughout the many authoritative papal documents — lies not in man but in God Himself whom the Church proclaims to be the Creator and Redeemer of every individual. In the words of Pius XII "man himself is in no way the object of social life or a kind of passive element thereof. On the contrary he is and should always be its subject, its foundation and its end". As said again by John XXIII, the individual is and should be the "foundation, the end and the subject of all the institutions in which social life is carried on". Christianity "takes man concretely, spirit and matter, intellect and will, and invites him to raise his mind above the changing conditions of earthly existence". Hence the crucial point that must dominate our study, test our appreciation and direct our activities is man's nature.

Individuality

Each man is an individual, a part of the universe, one out of many. Like all things corporeal, like the atom, plant and animal, man has an individuality rooted in matter which requires occupying a position in space different from another's; in order to exist, he must be undivided and distinct from any existent. This is so because he is embodied in a certain amount of matter. Material individuality, involves a precarious unity which tends to be scattered for matter is liable to disintegration, and space is liable to division. As individual, each of us is a fragment of a species, a part of the universe, one point in the immense web of the

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cosmos, liable to ethnical, historical forces and bound by their laws, each of us is the victim or plaything of the determinst forces of the physical world.

Yet this individuality is not an evil since it is a condition of our existence ; without it, without body, without that very intimate relation with matter, we would not be. But at the same time it is the root of our limitations, the source of inner tensions, of our disintegration.

Person

This individuality is not a full description of man. He has also intelligence and free will. Man has a mind of his own, which can build ideas in which there enters no material component, which can make out what is common or different between several things, which can put questions like whence, why, or whither and find answers true to reality, which can observe, analyse and conclude, which can see what is good or bad and can find out why it is good or bad. He is also aware that he was the power to choose, to agree or to deny, to say yes or to say no. He feels he has the power to mobilize his energies according to his choice, the capacity of self-disposal, taking a stand by what is good or bad, taking a ragge of choice in which he is a sovereign. Man knows he has a field of self-government and self-determination ; he knows there is in him a core of subsistance which can not be crushed, he feels he is an independent kingdom in relation with other equally independent kingdoms, he is a self, a self with a destiny of its own and a responsibility he cannot pass on to anybody, be it friend, society or church, a self who can say yes or no to anybody, even to the Almighty's command, a self with a unique value. Each man is a person. The self enjoys the freedom of autonomy ; he has the power to choose to be what he wants, to be good or to be bad. Moreover he has also the freedom to choose among the means for being good or for being bad. That freedom of autonomy and that freedom of choice of means are characteristic of the person. As individuals we are something, as person we are somebody. It is higher, greater and richer to be somebody in poverty

than being something in wealth. Such is the meaning of personality. (Note that here personality is taken in its metaphysical sense. In psychology, personality, is the complex of behavioural or observational bundle of traits by which a man reveals or expresses himself; it is his empirical personality. In psychology and psychiatry, as the common saying goes, man is a person and reveals a personality.)

As Mr. J. Maritain suggests, the most appropriate approach to the philosophical discovery of the person is the study of the relation between personality and love. It is embodied in that common place and yet unique saying of lovers: "I love you". Against Pascal who contends love bears on qualities directly, we know that lovers do not say "I love your wealth, I love your courage, intelligence, beauty, etc. but they simply say when they do tell their most intimate feeling: "I love you. We love the deepest, most hidden, most existing reality of the beloved being, that core of being which is deeper than any quality or qualification, name, or virtue or merit we could enumerate. We love the person and that is why the expression of love is unique, inexhaustible and because inexhaustible, it is repeated without satiety. Love seeks out the very centre of existence, not separated from its qualities but amalgamated with them as their support and secret. As unphilosophical Juliet said with deep truth and human insight: "though art thyself though not a Montague... Romeo doff thy name which is no part of thee, take all myself".

Love supposes a centre, a core of being, capable not only of giving but of giving itself, capable not only of receiving but of receiving another self which bestows itself; it is essentially the mutual surrender of two selves, an attempted fusion of two persons. It is because of this and because a person cannot be described fully or fathomed at its deepest that love is often a mystery to others and looks like a wonder or a folly (people looking ill assorted in marriage, women devoted to the most wretched husbands, couples continually quarrelling and yet unable to

live without each other, etc.). their selves are fully engaged.

For a true self surrender, one must exist, not in a fleeting manner like a sound, or a flash of light, one must exist as a thing which subsists and exercises its existence for itself ; one must have a self possession which is real, a capacity of self disposal, one should have a possibility of choice and self determination. In short one must have a spiritual existence, capable of containing itself through knowledge and freedom, intellect and love. That is why the metaphysical tradition of the West defines the person in terms of independence, as a reality which subsisting spiritually, constitutes a little universe unto itself, a relatively independent whole within the great whole of the universe, facing the supreme whole, God Himself. Personality is related not to matter but to the deepest and densest dimension of being ; its roots are spiritual in as much as the spirit holds itself in existence. Since it is simple and without parts it is not liable to division or disintegration. As J. Maritain says, " personality is subsistence, the ultimate achievement by which the creative influx seals within itself a nature face to face with the whole order of existence so that the existence which it receives is *its own* existence and *its own perfection*. Personality is the subsistence of the spiritual soul communicated to the human composite. It is the imprint or the seal which enables it to possess its own existence, to perfect and to give itself freely. Personality indicates the generosity and expansiveness in being, which an incarnate spirit derives from its spiritual nature and which constitutes, within the secret depths if our very nature, a source of dynamic unity, of unification from within ".

Personality is Social

Personality signifies interiority to self. But because it is due to a soul which can know and love, the self is not isolated but naturally enters into communication with other selves in the order of knowledge and love.

Finally one should turn to religious thought for the last word and the deepest layer of the human person's dignity

and value. This deepest core of personality is that man has the property of resembling God, not as other things do but in a *proper and special* way. The other things on earth are the footprints of the Creator ; man is the image of God. The other things are made of matter and at best animated with a material principle. God is without matter, without anything that is liable to division and disintegration. But God is pure spirit and the human person proceeds from Him in having as principle of life a spiritual soul, capable of knowing, loving and even of being uplifted by grace to participate in the very life of God so that in the end it might know and love God as God knows and loves Himself ; for in the eternal glory which is the blossoming of sanctifying grace man is given the privilege of facing, holding and enjoying the divine essence. As Rodulf Allers notes, " the idea of personality is an offspring of Christianity. None of the philosophers of antiquity, not even Plato or Aristotle, was capable of conceiving the true idea of the person. This idea could be discovered only after Christianity had taught mankind the dignity and responsibility of the individual person. By emphasizing the free will of man and its bearing on its eternal fate, by making every individual responsible for this fate in the next life, by proclaiming the infinite superiority of the spiritual immortal soul over all creatures of this sublunar world, Christianity opened the eyes of man to a true understanding of himself, his dignity, his destiny, his responsibility... All philosophies, which, whilst not Christian, state and try to demonstrate the dignity and peculiar position of the human person, do so because they retain some little, — in many it is more than little — of Christianity."

Society

The human person stands as an absolute value, commanding esteem, respect and love, claiming rights of self-preservation and self development against external encroachment, demanding protection and assistance to achieve one best self. This holds true for all men. On the other hand, if man is self-subsistent, he is not self sufficient. All of the same

make, all need the help of others, all can help others. All make a community. Society is a community of person. Society can and is usually spoken of as a person. It is only a moral or juridical person and one should not be construed into a physical person (Mother India, Britannia, Marianne etc.) to whom all would be enslaved or betrothed. None but real men are physical persons and society is meant for those physical persons as a group, as representing their interests and unity or purpose. Society is the community of those physical persons. In the words of the Aquinas, "each individual is related to the entire community as a part to the whole" and also "man is not ordained to the body politic according to all that he has and is". In a group of athletes each is engaged in a race only according to his muscular and nervous resources, not according to his musical talent or mathematical imagination. He is racing according to all he is or has. The Union of India is more than a file of 439 million individuals. The person is not to be identified with a family, or a profession, nor is group to be identified with one person. As said by Pius XII, "the essential purpose of social life lies in preserving, developing, perfecting the human person whom this social life allows, to observe in a right manner the laws and values of religion and culture intended by the Creator for each man and for mankind in its universal ambit and its natural branches". It is because of this basic distinction that there is an inescapable tension between person and society, person and society having respective priority at different levels. This problem of tension must be considered when approaching the relations between society and members.

Duties and Rights

A person can understand his Creator's commands and its own purpose in life ; he knows good from evil ; he can make out what is good from what is evil, what suits and furthers his true development. On the other hand he enjoys the capacity to accept or to refuse God's law, to accept or refuse the means appropriate to his life's purpose. Because of his freedom, he has his responsibility as well as his destiny; he has the obligation of com-

plying with the divine law, under pain of willful disobedience or of making for his perfection (under pain of thwarting his lower impulses). He has duties which direct his behaviour; he has rights to comply with his duties and to possess the means and opportunities of discharging them. Duties and rights are the obverse and reverse of the same moral situation. Rights and duties go with the same person, even with the least of the little ones. Consequently social life to be truly human demands that all members should remain awake to such essential attributes of persons and that they assist one another in maintaining the rights and discharging duties of all and every one. A society is a community of persons, what one might call " a person of persons ". Since it is a moral person, it comes under the purview of morality ; it has duties and rights, duties and rights towards itself, its members, its fellow societies or between societies of equal or different societies. Such are properly called social rights and social duties ; they are also divided into common or particular good according as they affect the good of the society as a whole or the good of a individual member of the society.

Ethics

Rights and duties ultimately arise from the author of the world who created men with freedom and responsibility to lead answering the divine ideal of eternal communion with God. Morality implies obligation, obligation implies perfect sanction, Godless morality involves no perfect sanction, no true ideal attainable, no obligation and consequently no true morality. It is only with and because of God that morality is genuine and true. right is an inviolable moral power which a person has of possessing, doing or exacting something, hence is in normal circumstances intolerant of any interference. Duty is a moral obligation incumbent on a person of doing, omitting or avoiding something. The source of all rights and duties is the law. The fundamental law or natural law of human nature is to tend to his destiny, to all that is normally necessary for his physical, moral and intellectual preservation and development. Rights and duties based on positive law, one made for

unnecessary but helpful purpose, whether divine or human, are called positive, as for instance laws made for easier civic life. Fundamental duties can be summarised in three classes : (a) duties towards God, religion; (b) duties towards one self. (preservation of life, bodily integrity, mental growth, truth seeking, developing goodness, securing means to salvation) ; finally (c) duties towards the neighbour (mutual respect, mutual assistance, etc.).

When going through the various groupings which man organise to suit various improvements or to suit the varied necessities of the fields of activity, one must analyse the membership qualifications, their relative capacities and functions, their advantages and drawbacks in enjoying the membership of a particular society ; they must then agree on the constitutions and rules of that particular society and write down the sanctions for defaults. Thus will arise a multiple system of ethical fields which should be analysed in detail to lead to sound and realistic organisation. Such fields are : family ethics ; civic ethics with reference to city and nation, members, authorities ; international ethics including contractual associations ; professional and economic ethics including its special structure, production, distribution, circulation, consumption, finally religion, Church and State, role of the Church. The survey of this agenda suffices to align a long series of fields in which acquity and activity may be of the highest order to arrive at a detailed solution that would prove fruitful and progressive.

In all those fields in which rights and duties are in tension, particularly the reciprocal relation of the society's common good and of each member or of subsidiary groups, whether they be at the economic level, cultural level or moral and religious levels, prudence and charity are to play their role fairly and delicately so that no measure be judged and applied that would be detrimental to the general or particular welfare. As Pope Pius XII said to the Spanish Social Week in 1956 : " Social sense teaches individuals their social duties. It makes them conscious of their social duties,

it urges them to take into account in their activities their belonging to a community, to be preoccupied with the welfare of their neighbour and with the common good of society. It works on man's social conscience and as a habitus its puts them in the conditions necessary to reach the purposes which God and society expect from him. It is therefore the sense of the general or legal justice of which scholastics are speaking and which the Pontifical documents often call social justice".

INDIVIDUAL & THE STATE

B. S. Gilani*

Shortly before he died, Pope John XXIII issued the Encyclical, PACEM IN TERRIS, and broke new ground by addressing this historic document to " all men of goodwill " throughout the world, in addition of course to his own children, Catholic Bishops and the Faithful. It attracted world-wide attention immediately and made an impact on the statesmen and rulers even in quarters which have no use for religion or are even hostile to it.

In our own country, Papal social teachings have now been familiar for a number of years and when the press announced the news of this Letter in mid-April, many people awaited its text with unusual interest. I know of at least one case which ordered a cabled summary of its salient features and of another where it featured in diplomatic despatches.

It is perhaps too early to assess how widely it has been circulated and studied in India. Its basic appeal to the extent to which it draws on the Christian tradition in the West or on principles that proceed from belief in God Almighty is naturally limited, even in areas where people are otherwise religious. This is unfortunate but is easily explained.

The Liberal Tradition

In the top echelon of our leaders of men and of governmental affairs, we still have fairly powerful groups whose educational and cultural background was moulded in the British liberal tradition even though they came under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi in latter years; they were brought up in Western Universities or their counterparts in India where religion, or for that matter all Belief, was taboo or another totem. They

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will not go along with Pope John when he writes : " since God made men social by nature and since no society can hold together unless someone be over all, directing all to strive earnestly for the common good, every civilised community must have a ruling authority and this authority, no less than society itself, has its source in nature and has consequently God for its author ". They are bondmen of Economic Determinism.

Moreover — and this must be frankly faced — we all are of the generation that connected the British imperial domination with its " Christian " professions and was not able to distinguish true Christian Faith from its aberrations and false practice. And who amongst us will recall with anything but painful sorrow that a part of our territory was held in political tutelage in the name of " Christian civilisation " until it had to be seized by use of force. Memories die hard. Our people are not fully familiar with the agonising break-up of Christian unity in the West and the black-out of Papal teaching. There has been some improvement in the last decade or two ; but the anti-Catholic spirit is still prevalent and cynicism will not die soon.

An eye-opener

In this context, Pope John's Letter is a refreshing eye-opener. " No one ", he says, " wants to feel subject to political powers located outside his own country or ethnical group ". More : " the essential office of every public authority " is " to safeguard the inviolable rights of the human person " and that " if any government does not acknowledge the rights of man or violates them, it not only fails in its duty but its orders completely lack juridical force ".

Such is the historic stand of the Popes and the Catholic teaching. Our people want to know this and when they do they will see the Light they have been waiting for.

Coincidentally, the status of the Individual in Indian policy, *vis a vis* a group or a social institution, is as close to Papal (Catholic) teaching as a non-Christian concept can be. The individual may be submerged in the Infini-

tude ; but in a group or a community never ! I make this parenthetical observation both to better identify the subject of this Paper and to recommend its further study for Social Action.

Individual and the Group

Indeed if PACEM IN TERRIS and the welcome accorded to it were utilised to enter the parlours of our statesmen and rulers, they would, I feel, like to know more about the rightful status of the Individual, of the "dignity of human person" *vis a vis* the group, the community and the all-encompassing State into which we are being, willy nilly, driven. The pressure of economic Plans, the inexorable demands for preserving our national security and freedom and the propensity to "bungle through" even our blunders, have tended to confound and undermine the rights of the citizen in the mounting melee of our affairs.

Perhaps if in these parlours our statesmen and rulers studied some of the Papal Letters since Leo XIII wrote the *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 and Pope Pius XI followed it up with his *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931, they will understand and appreciate better Pope John's *Pacem in Terris*. This, one might say, is a review of the teaching of his recent predecessors and is brought up to date in the context of the latest scientific discoveries and the horrors of a Nuclear armageddon. Such a study will throw light on the sad story of the submergence of the Individual, first when the cult of *laissez faire* in economic activity corrupted and numbed the conscience of men in authority (*Rerum Novarum*) and then on the enslavement of the State itself and its surrender to the evils of imperialist domination of weaker peoples (*Quadragesimo Anno*).

The Will of the Majority

Europe, "Christian Europe", turned its back on the laws of God and in His place carved unto itself an idol : "will of the majority". "It is impossible", says Pope John, "to accept the theory which professes to find the original and single source of civic rights and duties, of the binding force of the Constitution and of a government's right to command, in the mere will of

human beings, individually or collectively". That way, the way of the idol, as we have seen in India already, even the Fundamental Rights embedded in our Constitution could be in grave jeopardy by a simple resort to a regimented majority vote.

Therefore, Pope John speaks not only to the statesmen and the rulers. He goes boldly to the people, reminding them to become increasingly conscious of their dignity as human persons and that "this awareness prompts them to claim a share in public administration of their country while it also accounts for the demand that their own inalienable and inviolable rights be protected by law".

But, he goes on, this land is not so sacrosanct that it may not be disobeyed. Quoting St. Thomas Aquinas, the Pope says: "human law has the true nature of law only insofar as it corresponds to right reason and therefore is derived from the Eternal Law. Insofar as it falls short of right reason a law is said to be a wicked law; and so, lacking the true nature of law, it is rather a kind of violence". The pre-eminence of the privilege and the rights of man cannot be more specific.

Social Obligations

But let us be cautioned, this is no "bull in the China shop" blandishment; no pandering to an individual's vanity. In line with the historic teaching of the Church, Pope John lays down his social obligations also in clear language: "Individual citizens and intermediate groups are obliged to make their specific contributions to the common welfare.. and must bring their own interests in harmony with the needs of the community.". This, he says, they will do by disposing "their goods and their services as the civil authorities have prescribed". In other words, payment of municipal dues and State taxes is an obligation which an individual cannot escape.

This obligation, however, does not turn the individual into a helpless victim of tyrannical exactions: "State activity in the economic field, no matter what its breadth or depth may be, ought not to be exercised in such a way as to curtail an individual's freedom of personal initiative.

Rather it should work to expand that freedom as much as possible by the effective protection of the essential personal rights of each and every individual".

On their face, these few words looks simple enough. Considered carefully they prescribe the priority and the "balance" between the rights of an individual on the one hand and the prerogatives of the State. On priority, the Popes make clear that as man comes first, his dignity and freedom may not be infringed. Side by side, they also lay down as Pope John puts it with his inimitable brevity: "One who desires what is not his due impairs his own rights". The onus is his own; the State comes into the picture as an agency. This is quite a contrast to both the Socialist and Marxian systems where the State is pre-eminently supreme, and the rights of an individual are conceded only insofar as they serve and perpetuate the State.

In the Marxian system, the individual fraudulently inveigled to abjure his rights with the mirage of rapid and spectacular rewards and once lured into the net, he is mercilessly dehumanised and silenced by brute police action. It is the same in the Socialist system except that the deception is camouflaged under parliamentary processes. G. D. H. Cole, the famous British Economist of our times, who at one time was an enthusiastic sponsor and supporter of the Socialist system renounced it in later years precisely because he could no longer reconcile himself to the rape of the parliamentary freedoms and specifically to the fraudulent deception practised in the system against the citizen. He now affirmed: "we shall never get a chance of building (true) socialism unless we carry with us in the process the consent of the ordinary man" (*Next Ten Years in British Social & Economic Policy*, p. 157).

In our country, we have got ourselves bogged down manoeuvring for positions in the contradictions of our "socialist pattern of society" (whatever it means) and that noble document produced by our Constituent Assembly, the Constitution of India. With

its provisions of Fundamental Rights, guaranteeing our rights as free citizens and a recital of the Directive Principles for the better functioning of the State, we enjoy the "dignity of the human person" as close to the teachings of the Popes as is possible in a non-Christian State. It is true there has been more than one effort to encroach on the original guarantee of the Fundamental Rights by resort to the process of amendment. It must also be admitted that in our Constitution, the sovereignty, contrary to what the Popes teach, resides in the "people" of free India and does not proceed from God Almighty. This is a lacuna with which we must perforce be reconciled to live. It is certainly a Caution Signal for us with our fellow citizens of goodwill to be perpetually vigilent against the misuse of the constitutional processes of Amendment of the Constitution. We may not also close our eyes to the disingenious maneouvrings of an otherwise decadent and dying Communist Party of India, whose members unable to halt its internal rot, are now surreptitiously engaged in boring into the ruling Congress Party; One time, unabashed and avowed critics of the Congress leadership, they have now come out as its saviours to deliver it from what they call "the Right Reaction". Their real motive, in common with the retreating forces of International Communism, is of course to somehow arrest the rapidly enlarging horizons of human freedom and dignity. They will, without the courage of openly saying so, exploit the gaping short-falls in production the confusion in which the Planning Commission has involved itself and the general ennui that has descended on an aging administration. The Communist operator knows how best to waylay the common man and confound and deceive him to first foul the administrative machinery, capture power and then enslave the entire people. The Communists have done it elsewhere; they are out to do it here. Once they destroy individual human freedom and gain control over the seats of power, they will, as their compeers have done in East European States, mutilate and enslave our fair and beloved Motherland.

Our Duty

This danger must be faced and averted. We have the guidance in the Papal teachings and specifically in Pope John's *Pacem in Terris*. Our duty here and now is to collaborate with our fellow citizens "to safeguard the inviolable rights of the human person and to facilitate the fulfilment of his duties" by moulding and strengthening the public authority so to do. And we are not left in any doubt as to how we can do this.

We are directed to "take an active part in government". The forms of government, described in the Letter, are familiar to us. It classifies these forms; they are precisely the three we have in India: the legislative, that is, our Assemblies in the States and the Parliament at the Center; the judicial, that is, our courts controlled and headed by our excellent Supreme Court; the executive, that is, the administrative machinery in all sectors of our rural and urban areas.

By and large, these instruments of public authority the parliament and the executive, are functioning as well as anywhere. They do have their foibles, their lapses and at times display some fissures. These need careful and prudent handling. Here is Pope John's prescription: "It is necessary that human beings, in the intimacy of their own consciences, should so live and act in their temporal lives as to create a synthesis between scientific technical and professional elements on the one hand, and spiritual values on the other".

Finally, "It must not be concluded that because authority comes from God, that therefore men have no right to choose those who are to rule the State, to decide the form of government and to determine both the way in which authority is to be exercised and its limits".

"Pacem in Terris" and the World Press

J. D'Souza*

To judge the impact of a papal pronouncement on the world it is necessary to take stock not only of the opinions of intellectual and political leaders, Catholic and non-Catholic, but also of the reaction of the masses in so far as it is ascertainable. This would be true of any encyclical, even if it be of purely religious and spiritual import, because the movement of ideas in the Catholic world cannot be a matter of indifference to the non-Catholic world. But when the subject matter of such a pronouncement deals with social problems and touches on some of the burning questions of the day as in the present instance, the interest becomes naturally more general and more absorbing. And since in addition to this, this encyclical by a significant innovation addresses itself not merely to Catholics but to all men of good will, we must make an honest effort to find out what these men of good will thought of the document. The only practical way to find this out is by examining the opinions expressed in the world Press. It is true that the great organs of the Press do not always express the views of a majority of the people of a country. Often they represent particular interests and special points of view. But they are also moulders of public opinion, and a representative selection of their views does give us a fair insight into the world reaction to "Pacem in Terris".

Unusual Publicity

In the first place let us note than no encyclical has hitherto received such publilcity in the world Press as was given to

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"Pacem in Terris". The Holy See had prepared official translations of the Latin Encyclical in the principal modern languages and they were available on the day of the publication, Thursday the 11th April, in the office of the *Osservatore Romano,* semi-official Vatican daily which maintains a special Press Service. 250 foreign correspondents in Rome took out copies of the encyclical for instant expedition to their countries. Moreover *Reuter* transmitted the entire encyclical in a transmission which amounted to 25,000 words. The *Associated Press* gave not only the full text but the official summary in four languages making up a transmission of 40,000 words. The *Agence France Presse* gave the official summaries in the chief European languages and also copious extracts from the encyclical. The *United Press International* gave an account of the encyclical in 30,000 words and distributed it among 9,000 journals in 111 countries. The ANSA agency supplied all the Embassies in Rome with summaries of the encyclical and sent them also to the Press of North and South America, and of the Near East. Lastly the *N. C. W. C. News Service* telegraphed the official summaries and quotations to America, and on the same day sent the full text by air. It reached America on the evening of the 11th, and the next day the New York Times published the entire text with the notes.

There was another occasion when special publicity was given to the ideas of the encyclical in Catholic circles in the United States. For reasons which we shall explain further on, the Holy Father thought it worthwhile sending Cardinal Suenens, Archbishop of Malines, to New York to present an autographed copy of the encyclical to U. Thant, the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization, who had welcomed the papal document with words of high and significant appreciation. On that occasion, the Cardinal addressed the annual Congress of the member organizations of the United States Committee for the U.N., explaining the broad principles on which the encyclical was based. This conference received

the widest publicity among the Catholics of the United States through the diocesan papers, some of which published the full text of Cardinal Suenens' speech.

The publicity given in India is known to our readers. In addition to the publicity in English, the Internuntio, Mgr. James Knox, had prepared summaries in the principal regional languages of India, and thus the vernacular Press gave unusually wide covering to the substance of the encyclical.

Widespread Welcome

Rarely has a papal document been received with such wide-spread welcome as "Pacem in Terris". It is easy to see the reasons for this. The encyclical is a very comprehensive document and treats the question of peace both from the doctrinal and from the practical point of view. Beginning with the individual and the inalienable rights of the human person, it proceeds to indicate the mutual relations of men among themselves, the relations between citizens and the State, the relations of nations with one another, and finally the relations of States to the actual and possible world organizations. It shows how peace on earth can be ensured by the perfect observance of the rights and obligations of individuals and societies. But the Holy Father does not confine himself to the theory of peace and harmony among men; he touches the most burning problems of the day, and gives in no uncertain manner his views on how to solve them. These views are marked by a boldness and practical grasp, and a freedom from bias in favour of any particular bloc which have astonished the world. The result is that the encyclical contains declarations and directives which in their totality may not be accepted by any single group or organ of opinion outside the Church, but contains elements which every one of them can accept with enthusiasm. There are criticisms and reserves expressed in regard to different points, and what is equally important, there are significant silences.

But every element of it receives warm praise from different quarters and hence the general impression is that of universal welcome.

Striking Points

Before indicating the views of some of the organs of the world Press let me resume the points which made the strongest impression on readers by their courage and appositeness. The columnist Emmet J. Hughes of Newsweek (New York) summarised them admirably.

1. The Pope strikes at authoritarianism of the Right and the Left by proclaiming the rights of man. " Human society is realized in freedom ".
2. He rejects the laissez faire of liberalism by insisting on man's right to security, including the right to education, health, a just wage, housing, old age pensions, etc.
3. He proclaims the unity of the human family and condemns racial and national prejudices.
4. He insists on the right of each one to freedom of inquiry, to objective information, and the search for truth.
5. The Pope recognises the right of lesser nations to maintain their freedom of action and policy even when they receive aid from the richer nations, implicitly condemning the idea, dear to Mr. Dulles, that neutrality was immoral.
6. Finally he pleads for tolerance towards those who may be erring in good faith, and encourages every effort to find grounds on agreement even with those whose political or religious philosophy may be unacceptable.

Approval and Disapproval

Now it is clear that in all this there is something to please and something to alarm the spokesmen of East and West. The comments of the Press faithfully reflected this not so

much by open disagreement with the points that were unacceptable — though such disapproval was not absent — as by the points chosen for special praise. The English Press, represented by the *Times,* the *Manchester Guardian,* the *Economist,* was on the whole most appreciative of the insistence on freedom, on the encouragement to tolerance and pacific coexistence, and to a large extent also on the condemnation of racialism. The very conservative *Daily Telegraph* was typical of more moderate approbation and expressed itself in rather negative style saying that there was nothing in the words of the Pope to shock a politician whatever his party, and there were many things on which politicians should reflect. The American Press, in particular *The New York Times* and *The New York Herald Tribune* dwell on the extraordinary ccurage and optimism of the Pope when he recommends negotiations even with the Communist powers in order to ensure peace, and support to the United Nations Organization. *The New York Times* in a later issue (21st May) actually defended the Pope against the attacks of those who suggested that the encyclical may have led to the success of the Communists in the Italian elections. That partial success, said the paper, was due to the causes quite other than the alleged " weakening " of the Catholic opposition to Communism.

Conservative Catholics

Now it is no secret that in conservative Catholic circles in the States, as well as in other sections of right wing opinion, the praise of the U. N. and other international organizations, the reference to the need for some form of world government, to the right of citizens to security with implied approval of the " welfare legislation ", the possibility of " coexistence " and the evolution of policies in the Communist world which might make negotiations with them possible and fruitful, were all extremely unwelcome and embarassing. The *Commonweal,* the liberal Catholic weekly, found it necessary to comment on

the "relative silence" of the American Press on the major points of the encyclical. According to *Commonweal* (May 24) it challenged almost all the common conceptions about the struggle between Christianity and Communism. It is no use answering Communism with its own weapon of totalitarianism. There must be a distinctively Christian confrontation with Communism based on Christian hope and belief in Providence.

Kennedy

As a final detail regarding the Press in the English speaking world, let me refer to the commencement address delivered by President Kennedy at the American University on June the 10th. In an article in the Jesuit weekly *America* (22nd June) Fr. Francis Canavan said that this speech reads like a secular version of the encyclical because of the President's rejection of the "theory of the inevitability of war and his conviction that it is necessary to persevere in the effort for peace hoping for constructive changes within the Communist bloc". But even before the Jesuit weekly had noted the similarity, the London *Economist* had a leading article entitled "Mr. Kennedy takes up Pope John's argument". "The Pope and the President" said this journal, "are as one in hammering home sometimes in very similar words, the three main points they want to make. These are that the world is called to form one single family in which the differences between the various parts though important are less important than what unites them; that enmities between nations and the ever shifting conflict of ideas do not last forever; and that therefore it is necessary to avoid a distorted and desperate view of the other side". (*Economist*, June 15).

Germany

It can be easily imagined that the suggestions for a possible understanding with the Communist bloc and the urging of nuclear and other disarmament would be viewed

with considerable misgiving in conservative circles in West Germany where the menace of Communist power and the experience of its cruelties are very real. There was of course warm appreciation in the West German Press in general. Papers like the *Stuttgarter Zeitung,* the *Suddeutsche Zeitung,* the *Rhur Nachrichten,* the *Munchner Werkur,* and the *Frankfurter Hefte* analysed and gave copious extracts of the encyclical noting all the bold and the original features of it. But there were also serious reserves. Rudolf Kramer-Badoni in *Die Welt* expressed grave doubts about the prudence of the "excessively optimistic approach of the Pope". The memories of the events of Budapesth and Warsaw make many Germans very cautious, and they fear that a policy conceived by the infinitely optimistic nature of the Pope might further "weaken the will of the German people to fight for liberty".....

France

Similarly in France, while the chief organs like *Le Monde* and *Figaro* gave penetrating analyses and very favourable comments, it was clear that the opposition between certain ideas of General De Gaulle and the policy of the French Republic and the conduct recommended by the encyclical could escape no one. The influential Belgian review *La Revue* Nouvelle published in its issue of May a long article by Marcel Hayoul in which the full and far-reaching implications of the document were ably brought out. But he noted that within eight days of the publication of the encyclical Gen. De Gaulle could make an important speech on the international situation without making any allusion to the papal document, and repeating in opposition to the optimistic approach of the Pope, — his Cassandra-like warnings and appeals for military preparedness in France.

Soviets

The Soviet and other Communist Press for its part gave also unusual publicity and favourable comment. *Tass* had

sent summaries of the encycliical to the Russian papers. Radio Bratislava (Checoslovakia) and Radio Budapesth also gave it wide publicity. The principal Communist papers in Russia, Poland, East Germany like *Izvestia, Trylura Ludil* and *Neue Zeit,* and elsewhere dwelt naturally on the points which most appealed to them namely the need for coexistence and negotiation for peace, the condemnation of racialism, etc. They did not fail to point out that "capitalists and the imperialists" had special need to ponder on the words of the Pope. The Italian Communist papers also like *Unita* and *Avanti* said that the new Vatican policy amounted to the abandonment of the Church's opposition to Communism, and that Pope John had given up the policy of Pope Pius XI and Pius XII. Liberal papers like *Tempo* saw in the encyclical an approval of the "apertura a sinistra" initiated by the Christian Democrats in Italy, a trend which the Liberals heartily detest.

Catholic Press

Needless to say that the Catholic Press, that is journals of definitely religious inspiration, like *La Croix* in France, *De Tijd* in Holland, *Deutsche Tagespost* in West Germany, *Ya* in Spain, *O Diario* in Brazil, etc., explained the teaching of the encyclical with conspicuous ability. In particular authoritative reviews like *Les Etudes* and *Civiltà Cattolica* answered effectively the insinuations and showed that there was continuity in the policy of the Church, that the opposition to Communism as a doctrinal system continued as uncompromisingly as before, and that most of the points in the encyclical which were described as "revolutionary" were in reality anticipated in various ways by the predecessors of Pope John notably by Pope Pius XII. What was more surprising and gratifying was the sympathy and comprehension shown by the Protestant religious Press throughout the world.

Afro-Asian Countries

A word must be said of the reaction of the Press in the Afro-Asian countries. The Press in Japan, in India, in Egypt,

The Asahi Shimbun, the Vietnam Times, The Hindu, The Times of India, The Egyptian Gazette, etc. gave the encyclical the same attention as the Press in Europe and America. But it was natural that the condemnation of racialism and colonialism, and the promotion of peace by tolerance and the spirit of pacific coexistence should have received particular emphasis in these countries. Even the Cape Times had a word of praise for the assertion of the supremacy of the moral law over the law of nations.

From this rapid survey we may conclude that no papal pronouncement in modern times has hitherto received the attention and appreciation which "Pacem in Terris" has received in the non-Catholic world. By this courageous and truly humane document the Pope has gained the heart of the world and raised the moral prestige of the Papacy to a height never before attained. The moving circumstances which accompanied the sickness and death of the Holy Father have in some way set the seal on his teaching. There is hope that even in the minds of those to whom many points of his teaching were not particularly welcome, his words would penetrate and sink, slowly no doubt, and help to produce the disposition wanted for ensuring peace in the world.

"PACEM IN TERRIS" AT THE U. N.

In May 1962, at the invitation of the "United States Committee for the United Nations, Pope John XXIII sent Cardinal Suenens as his representative to unfold the meaning and the significance of his encyclical "Peace on Earth" to the national delegations at the United Nations Organization. The following is a report of the Cardinal's address to the General Assembly.

The Cardinal said that the encyclical was without precedent in the history of the Church because it was addressed not only to Catholics but to all men of good will. It has been received with marked sympathy all over the world; its language was simple, direct, man to man; it was born of great confidence in God, and at the same time great confidence in man, especially in the better part of him. The encyclical reminded people of the 9th symphony of Beethoven; it was a symphony of peace. It has four movements and a finale.

It leit motif was this: Peace among all men required:

truth as the foundation
justice as the guiding principle
love as the motive force
liberty as the environment, the atmosphere, the social climate.

This theme was recurrent through all the four sections of the encyclical, and helped to weld them into a united whole: viz.

— peace as harmony among persons themselves
— peace as harmony among persons and the state
— peace as harmony among states
— peace as harmony between states and the world community.

The cardinal then went on to observe that the Pope had told him that there were many people who liked to complicate simple things, but he preferred to simplify com-

plex issues. The encyclical illustrated this preference of the Holy Father in a striking manner. It is simple indeed, but it has a simplicity that is poles apart from any facile simplification of human problems. It does not ignore either the complexity of our problems or the antagonistic currents among men or the weight of past history, but it attempts to discover what helps and leads to unity among men. In other words, the encyclical bases itself on the discovery of the common human denominator among men of good will.

There are four parts in the encyclical.

1. The call for respect towards the human person

A dialogue among men is not possible unless both sides accept a certain hierarchy of values, or at least a first principle. This first principle is the recognition that must be given to the dignity and the rights of the human person. The Pope approves of the universal declaration of rights first promulgated on the 10th December, 1948 at the United Nations. This declaration solemnly recognizes the dignity of the person, the rights of each individual to seek the truth freely, to follow the norms of morality, to practice the obligations of justice, to demand conditions of life in accordance with his human dignity. These rights which are sacred and inalienable. the Pope reaffirms, but he also analyses them and makes them more precise.

He declares that these rights are full of value and are imperative in every latitude and longitude, and despite all the divergences of race, politics, ideology and religion.

The respect for rights is at the base of the entire social structure.

But if the respect for the human person is the beginning of civilization, it is the human person who must begin the movement for peace by respecting others. This movement towards others, far from denying human personality, makes it richer. This relation to another must be placed at the very heart of personality, which it helps to unfold and develop.

It is then in each of our souls that the peace of the world is enjoyed. It is from the heart that peace must radiate in ever wider concentric circles throughout the world. International peace commences in the heart of each one of us. And there are no obstacles, — rivers, oceans, mountains — to bar its passage.

The cardinal reminded his hearers that while charity begins at home, it must not remain at home. Peace is born at home but radiates from there into the street, the neighbourhood, the city, the nation and the world. Every little gesture of peace, every small decision favours every big one. The general peace is due to the peace in each particular place and circumstance, to the humble and modest efforts at pacification that are accomplished silently among all social layers and classes of men. Let us not neglect these minute opportunities for the establishment of peace which are within the reach of all.

2. *The call to the collaboration of all people*

The human person is not an isolated being. He is an integral part of a political community or state. States must harmonise their relations with their subjects in accordance with truth and justice, in the spirit of solidarity and liberty, says the encyclical.

Truth requires the recognition of the natural equality of all states, by reason of their dignity and their human components. Truth requires that each nation must be treated with serene objectivity. Truth requires that every source of information that unjustly undermines the reputation of a people should be eliminated.

Justice for its part implies the recognition of mutual rights and the performance of corresponding duties. Justice requires that when political communities enter into conflicts with one another, they must settle their quarrels not by force of arms, nor by fraud and deceit, but as become human beings, by mutual understanding, and by an objective evaluation of the facts and by equitable compromise.

The sense of solidarity requires that people should not barricade themselves within

watertight enclosures, but that they should share their own peculiar riches at every level, and exchange them with those of others.

Finally the sense of liberty requires the abstention of every intrusion into the internal affairs of others and that the larger states should prefer the expansion of the sense of responsibility and initiative among the smaller.

This is the code among nations that must be respected in order to safeguard peace.

Instead in our times there is the recourse to the stockpiling of armaments which is at variance with the principle of collaboration. The Cardinal then quotes the solemn appeal of the Pope for the reduction of armaments and the reasons the Holy Father gives are summed up in the sentence where he says that to avoid war one must remove the fear and the psychosis that generates war. Real peace cannot be built except on mutual confidence.

Such confidence, continues the Cardinal, cannot be born today or tomorrow ; but progressively and gradually. The first step in this direction however must be taken. It must be not an individual but a collective step. The road to peace is long and ardous, but there is no other course to choose in its place except the one that leads to a nuclear holocaust.

True colloboration however includes something much more. There is the major social problem of our times ; the satisfaction of the most urgent needs of the people in the developing countries. How can anyone stand unmoved by the fact that two thirds of the world have not attained the level of living of the privileged nations ? That two out of three men live in a state of under-nourishment? How can one accept that there should be such flagrant injustice in the distribution of the goods of the earth among men ? Civilization is not worthy of its name if it resigns itself to such a state of social collective inequity.

Such disequilibrium, such a disproportion weighs heavily on the peace of the world. Even if this were not so, no

one should resign himself passively to accept such a state of collective injustice, the most flagrant of our century. It is necessary at any price to break the vicious circle which brings it about that on the great part of the globe there should be men who are poor because they produce little and they produce little because they are too poor to produce more. It is necessary to attack the disease at the root and to see that every man, that every people, should reach the level of human dignity, the level of hope in a better future. We must hurry for time presses.

Two men out of three suffer from hunger that is either endemic or acute. Each year of the 60 million who die, hunger and its consequences have brought about the death of 30 to 40 millions.

The time has come for a vast collective movement of solidarity among the nations to satisfy the needs of men and the rising levels of living. However while providing such assistance, the encyclical insists on an essential condition: this aid must be given with the fullest recognition and respect for the people who are helped.

3. The call for the creation of a supra-national power

Collaboration among the nations, to be effective and efficacious, must needs have a supreme coordinating body. That is why Pope John completed his exhortation towards collaboration by an appeal for a better organization of the public powers that are charged with securing the universal good.

The very vastness of the problems to be solved urges the constitution of a public authority of a world dimension, guided in its dealings with the national political communities by the principle of 'subsidiarity', which enables each of these communities to preserve their responsibility and initiative in their own spheres.

The Pope insists, says the Cardinal, that "this public authority, having world wide power and endowed with the proper means for the efficacious pursuit of its objective, which is the universal good in concrete form must be set up

by common accord and not imposed by force. The reason is that such an authority must be in a position to operate effectively ; yet, at the same time, its action must be inspired by sincere and real impartiality ; in other words, it must be action aimed at satisfying the objective requirements of the universal common good. " The Pope is aware of the fear among the weaker states that this supranational organization might become an instrument in the hands of the more powerful states to serve their interests. Today even the weakest states are very sensitive of their juridical equality and their moral dignity. Hence the Pope desires that the United Nation Organisation — in its structure and in its means — should become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks, and that the day would come when every human being will find therein an effective safeguard for the rights which derive directly from his dignity as a person, and which are therefore universal, inalienable and inviolable rights. This is much more necessary today when more human beings are taking an active part in the public life of their states, are showing an increasing interest in the affairs of other people, and are growing conscious of their being members of a World Community.

4. The call for collaboration among men of divergent ideologies.

The final appeal of the encyclical is for collaboration of men in the economic, social and political sphere despite divergent ideologies. Once again the cardinal quotes the Pope's words : " It is fair to distinguish between error and those who commit it. In the same way one should not identify false philolsophical theories on the nature, the origin and the finality of the world and of man with the historic movements based on economic, social and political ends, as if these had their origin and their inspiration from the theories. The teachings, once they are drawn up and defined, remain always the same, while the movements, working on historical situations in constant evolution, cannot avoid therefore, being subject to changes even of a profound nature.

It would be false, says the cardinal, to identify men of flesh and blood with the abstract logic of the ideologies they profess. Men are neither doctrines personified, nor incarnated errors.

Every Christian knows that Christianity inspires him to do much better than he actually performs by reason of his weakness and egoism. He must remember that the same is true of others who have different beliefs. It is possible to rally round and cooperate with social initiatives that come from those whose principles for one reason or another we cannot admit.

Pope John wishes us to discover the men behind the ideologies that oppose them. And what is true of men is true of entire nations. Do not identify them with the political systems in which they live. The world is becoming smaller day by day and means of communication among the continents is growing and throwing men of varying nationalities together more and more. Many men travel from one part of the world to another without exchanging a word or even a smile. No one cares to know the soul of a people or discover the riches of their culture, and their traditions which could become the common lot of humanity. A revolution of the first importance could be created if people were only allowed speak to each other and not merely co-exist by each other's sides. Our century has discovered interplanetary space, but it has failed to explore the space that separates men from one another. Our century has discovered nuclear energy, but it has failed to discover the energy that creates peace and concord, that can lead to a simple act of love and mutual understanding.

The closer relationships among the various peoples of the earth could be brought about by the men entrusted with the fortunes of the nation. They must point out the stages, the shape and form and the amplitude of these endeavours towards unity. The smallest efforts of justice and equity, of objec-

tiveness and understanding in public relations will open the way to this revolution for which all men desire and which will introduce and stabilize peace among men.

The cardinal finally concluded his message with the words that in giving his testament, his charter on peace, Pope John had no other ambition than to make the earth a better place for men to live in.

From Theory to Practice

THE RICKSHAW PULLERS CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD., ALLEPPEY, KERALA.

Alleppey has a large number of rickshaw pullers who ply their trade all through the year in every kind of weather. At any part of the day and even late at night these men are on hand to pull you in their rickshaw to any part of the town. Theirs is not an easy life by any means, and though in a mechanized age like ours such ancient contraptions like rickshaws should be relegated to the scrap heap, yet there are men who, because they have no other source of income, prefer to drag their fellow citizens about the place in rickshaws rather than see their families and themselves starve.

It is rare that a rickshaw puller owns his own rickshaw. In most cases the owner of the rickshaws loans them to the rickshaw puller for a fixed amount per day or a percentage on earnings above a specified minimum. In most cases exploitation of the rickshaw puller is a matter of course and while the owner rakes in his share, the rickshaw puller often has to go with little or nothing, especially if he has had a bad day.

The Union

To remedy this situation, Fr. J. K. Thayil made up his mind to get the men organised into a co-operative union. He began to approach them individually, but made little headway, until one of their number came to his rescue and soon he was able to gather nearly 60 members to form the union.

The work of contacting the rickshaw pullers went on for four months, till finally on the 24 September, 1961, they were able to have their first meet-

ing at the Leo XIII Primary School in Alleppey.

Some 60 rickshaw pullers attended the meeting and there was great enthusiasm to form an association and also a co-operative society, so that after some time, each puller could own a rickshaw of his own, a small plot of ground and house in which to live. In the course of the meeting, a committee was formed and one of the men was elected President, another a secretary and 5 councillors. A small collection was also made for the everyday expenses of the union.

A second meeting was held on the 8th October, 1961 and some 56 members attended. In the meantime, the bye-laws of the co-operative society of Rickshaw Pullers from Kottayam and an old one from Alleppey were obtained. There had already been an attempt to form the rickshaw pullers into a union by the communists in Alleppey but the attempt had failed because of malpractices.

The rest of the story is now told by Fr. Thayil himself.

"At this juncture the Chief Minister Shri. Pattom Thanu Pillai, paid a flying visit to Alleppey on 16th October, 1961, and we took the opportunity of presenting a petition to him on behalf of the Rickshaw Pullers. The petition was received with great kindness and assurance was given of the Government help. Within a fortnight we got the reply from the Government that our petition was receiving attention. Within a couple of months i.e., on December, 17, 1961, the Co-operative Inspector approached us with the reply of the Government, together with a draft scheme for the organisation of Rickshaw Pullers' Co-operative Society, drawn up by the Union Government. This encouraged as very much and straight away, we drew up the bye-laws and a Catholic advocate was kind enough to frame it and we presented the petition at once to the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies. He gave us every encouragement and the Collector gave us the necessary exemption to register the society wihtout the stipulated share-capital.

Shareholders

I therefore approached all the Rickshaw Pullers of the town and some 126 gave their names. They began to pay the share value of Rs. 5/- each by instalments, say, 2, 4, or 8 annas a week and this went on from September, 1961 to January, 1962. Even then the total amount collected did not come up to Rs. 100/-. Anyhow with the little money, I had of the Social Service, I deposited Rs. 150/- in the Bank on 27 January, 1962 and applied for registration. The bye-laws were presented and the application was formally received. By the 2nd of February, 1962 we had raised the share capital to Rs. 255/- and the bye-laws were approved on 9th February, 1962. All this time, meeting after meeting was held and the pullers were encouraged to give their full co-operation. By the 14th of March, we managed to get some 42 members who paid one share each. Of these 34 were rickshaw pullers and 8 sympathisers.

The Co-operative Society

Measures were on foot for the inaugural meeting of the Co-operative Society and we were lucky enough to get the consent of the Collector to inaugurate the function, of the Deputy Registrar to preside, and of three advocates, to speak on the occasion. The public was generous enough to contribute their share to run the show. The programme was printed and distributed in time. The Bye-laws were also printed and submitted to the office. A public procession was organised from the Boat Jetty right up to the ground of Leo XIII, primary school a distance of about 3 miles. The formal registration took place on 16 March, 1962 and the inaugural function on 17 March, 1962. The procession started from the Jetty and some 160 Rickshaw Pullers with their vehicles took part in the procession. There was a mike in front and a decorated van with the flag of the Co-operative. People gathered in large members to watch the function and when the procession reached the grounds of Leo XIII school, the Collector hoisted the flag and gave the inaugural speech in Malayalam. The other items were gone through in order. After the public meeting there was a 'Biriyani Dinner' to all the members

and invitees and High Tea to the distinguished guests. A variety entrtainment brought the function to a close. The news was flashed across the country by the P. T. I.

The Bishop of Alleppey presented the first Cycle Rickshaw and he opened officially the Office-room, Reading room, Work shop and Study-class.

The Loan

After ten months of correspondence the Government was kind enough to sanction a loan of Rs. 20,000, and a grant of Rs. 900/- spread over 3 years. The loan is to be paid back by instalments at 4½% interest, within a period of 5 years.

The bye-laws were amended so that there are now four classes of members A, B, C and D. A class members have to pay the share value of Rs. 50/- each and are entitled to get auto rickshaws or scooters ; B class have to pay Rs. 15/- each and have a right for Cycle rickshaws ; C class have to pay Rs. 5/- each and have a claim for hand-driven rickshaws and D class have to deposit Rs. 50/- each and will be called sympathisers. This new regulation has dislocated the society a good bit. Five of the eight sympathisers withdrew their membership saying that such amendments are arbitrary and penalising, and as much they refuse to be members any more. All these five happened to be the five advocates who patronized the scheme. So only three were left over, and these were the priests.

No Hire-Purchase

The second innovation was that the hire-purchase system had to be abolished and the vehicles had always to be the possession of the society. This completely upset the pullers and they lost all enthusiasm for the project. So of the 43 paid members, only 13 took full shares of Rs. 15/-. Of these 13 members, 2 have taken 3 shares each, and one two shares. The others have promised to complete at least one share. Unfortunately it is innovations of this kind that make the co-operative system a failure in many cases. When the Government bring in arbitrary and unpleasant regulations the people lose confidence, and they back out. Some office-bearers take this

occasion to dupe the Government and the Society, and the whole attempt ends in litigation and winding-up of the society.

Paid Secretary

The Government also introduced by the new bye-laws the appointment of a qualified paid-secretary. This was another set-back to the pullers. One of them had been Secretary so far, and that opportunity they now lost. Now the pullers remain only as committee members. This gives them room for suspicion.

At present there are two Government nominees on the Committee and five other councillors. Of these the President, the nominee of the Government, is Rev. Father Varkey Pullan, S. J. He is also the Treasurer. So the pullers have full confidence in the President and they are sure there will be no foul play. The Second Government nominee is the Co-operative Inspector. He gives all the necessary instructions and directions for the smooth running of the Society. The five other members are all pullers, Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

We are now in possession of 5 Cycle-rickshaws and one hand-driven rickshaw. We have hired a house for Rs. 10/- a month for Office, Reading room, Study club and work-shop. We are on the look-out for a better and more specious building.

Another Restriction

Government has brought in another restriction against our old bye-laws saying that the Government loan would not exceed ten times the share capital and reserve fund. We have not a naya paise of reserve fund and the share capital was only Rs. 255/-. How could we on the spur of the moment raise the share capital to Rs. 2,000/- to get the loans of Rs. 20,000/- ! This was a bad blow. Besides the officer wanted this amount as far as possible to be deposited in the bank and not to be touched till we got the loan. Thus we had to freeze Rs. 2,000/- in the bank for a paltry interest say of 3% ; i.e., we have to lose Rs. 6,000/- a year, if it were interested in buying vehicles and giving them on rent to the pullers, for the sake of Rs. 60/- to satisfy red-tapism. If only the Government could understand the

real difficulties of the people and make the necessary adjustments, how smoothly and sweetly many of these projects would run ! So we had to move heaven and earth to raise a loan of Rs. 1,650/- and Fr. V. Pullan and myself took 33 shares and completed the amount. The pullers came to the rescue and the share capital came upto Rs. 2,100/-.

As soon as we deposited the amount in the bank, the Co-operative Inspector came for checking up the accounts and he took three days to go through all the accounts and documents. Once he was satisfied with the account he submitted his report and now we are waiting for the loan and grant.

By the time you publish this account in your esteemed journal, we will be getting the loan and buying our new vehicles and running our new workshop."

FROM THE WORLD OF JOURNALS

ECONOMIC FERMENT IN RUSSIA

The Foreign Affairs Quarterly Review for April, 1963 carried two interesting reports on variations, if not deviations, from the traditional Communist theme now being heard in the Communist camp. The first of these somewhat strange sounds emanate from the innermost circle of the comrades' compound — Russia itself. At first glance, it almost appears as though some high-level "campers" are "cutting" a few high-handed capers. It may actually turn out that way in the end of course. And a few highly-held heads may subsequently roll. But, according to the explanation given in an expose titled "Economic Controversy In The Soviet Union", the whole thing is a very serious matter of state, as well as of fact. Naturally, both aspects would have to be involved in any event of importance in a "peoples' paradise". However, one of the more unusual features of this stirring spectacle is its seeming unsupervised mode of operation. The participants are apparently acting entirely on their own inventiveness and initiative. This is the way the author of the article describes the atmosphere of the rousing discussion.

> "Unlike other recent economic disagreements, this one is marked by freedom and openness. Absent is the use of doctrinal citation and flag-waving.. almost no appeal is made to Marx, Lenin or even Krushchev for ideological justification.. In what appears to be an attempt to probe the essence of the problem, ideas are left to stand or fall on their own merit."

The main theme of this "free for all" encounter deals with the role of profits in achieving economic progress. That such a long-condemned term should be allowed to appear in public and professional circles again, further intensifies the unusualness of the whole affair. It is something like

the reinstatement of a discredited and banished bourgeoisie. But the underlying problem which prompts all this display of interest in capitalistic prowess is never enough to warrant such radical rampaging. How can a more effective use of resources be stimulated, so as to improve the quantity, the quality and the variety of the gross national product ?

The most active and aggressive performers in this economic " roundup " says the story, are the proponents of the " fast-draw " and " quick-shot " technique. They argue very simply and straightforwardly for less central controls and more local industrial autonomy. They would utilize the profit motive to induce each enterprise's manager to strive for greater and grander output. To this end, certain " profitability rates " and " profitability norms " would be established, by the centre authorities of course, to generate and guide extra effort that is required.

As would be expected, the opposition to such a capitulation to the capitalist system was loud and long. According to the Review's report, the main trend of thought here seemed to emphasize the danger of a division of resources from social to individual targets. In their quest for greater profits, it was alleged, producers would be apt to cater more to consumer demands than to the needs of the corporate society. This despite the officially admitted dire straits of the former on many different occasions.

The proper solution to the problem, therefore, according to these conservatives, is more but better central planning, not less.

As the witness of this " shooting match " sizes-up the situation, he would say that

> " In brief, the Soviet Union has outgrown its technology of planning and control. What was once eminently suitable for the purposes of Soviet planners and officials is no longer

> functional. The economy's needs have changed. Techniques which were designed for implementing one set of needs have now become inadequate and outdated in the context of a new set of conditions."

Consequently, the author concludes, " There are urgent reasons for altering the existing system of Soviet planning and control." Both Lenin and Krushchev would seem to agree with this judgment. The latter, at the November Plenum of the Communist Party in 1962, quoted these words from the former, as this article shows:

> "Be able if necessary to learn from the capitalists. Adopt whatever they have that is sensible and advantageous.

POLITICAL FERMENT IN COMMUNISM

The second article referred to above considers the "Threat And Opportunity In The Communist Schism ". Before analyzing it, however, some helpful background material can be gained from a perusal of another related report. This third study surveys what is calleld " The 'National Question' in Europe, With Special Reference To The Evolution of The Attitude Of The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party ". It is found in the April issue of International Studies, 1963.

According to the author of the latter work, the RSDWP was keenly aware of the practical importance of the national question from its very inception. Its national programme, adopted at the inaugural Congress in 1898, was based upon the decisions of International Socialist Congresses. This advocated the right of nations to self-determination. There was some strong opposition to such a stand within the Party right from the start however. Thus, Lenin is quoted as believing and advocating that,

> " Marxism is irreconcilable with nationalism, even if it is the 'fairest', 'purest', most refined and civilized nationalism. Marxism advocates internationalism in place of nationalism of any kind, advances the amalgamation of all nations in the

> higher unity that is growing in under our eyes.... with every workers' association that is international in its economic activities and also in its aims and ideas."

Stalin too expressed concern at the growing tide of nationalism all over Russia. In his opinion, this was bound to affect adversely the workers' organizations by blurring their vision of the real issues of the social revolution. To protect the workers from this " epidemic ", Stalin called upon the RSDWP to unfurl their banner of internationalism and to stress the unity and indivisibility of the class struggle.

Nevertheless, continues the subject article, " this basic Marxian hostility to nationalism... did not prevent Lenin from recognizing the historical legitimacy of national movements ". The bourgeois nationalism of every oppressed nation ", wrote Lenin, " has a general democratic content which is directed against oppression, and it is this content that we support unconditionally." Further, he declared, the only way of showing disapproval of the Tsarist policy of national oppression was by recognizing the right of oppressed nations to complete political self-determination. Lenin thought it was impossible to break away from the " accursed history of Tsarism " in the national sphere without assuring complete equality of all nations and making the recognition of the right of self-determination the corner-stone of the nationalities policy of the future socialist government of Russia.

But, explains the instant survey, the spirit of dialectical relativism with which Marxists analyzed all questions including the national question, convinced the Bolsheviks that the latter was a part of the general question of social revolution. In the view of the Stalin, " If.... a dialectical approach to a question is required anywhere, it is required.... in the national question." So, its writer tells us, the implicit faith of Lenin and other Bolsheviks in the truth of this statement led them to oppose all attempts which sought to make the

right of nations to self-determination an absolute and unchanging doctrine. Its temporary and conditional validity is the key to a correct understanding of Marxist thinking on the national question. Under the conditions of capitalism, the principle of self-determination was of paramount importance and pertinence.

In a socialist system, though, most of the Bolsheviks, including Stalin, insisted that it held no place, Lenin persisted in the view that such a right was of practical significance even in the initial stages of socialism. In doing so, we are told, he developed a working formula for the application of the right to self-determination by the future socialist government of Russia. In deciding the feasibility of the exercise of the right in any given case, "the class historical viewpoint" was to be the sole determining factor.

In his interpretation of the Communist schism, the author of the second work referred to here tells us that the failure of international Communism to prevent the schism appears to be rooted in certain generic peculiarities of Communism itself. First of all, the importance attached by Communism to ideology means that there must always be a "general line" guiding the tactics and the strategy of the movement. Setting that line was effectively accomplished when Stalin was alive. Today, it involves dealings among many parties and regimes who find it necessary to be much more responsive to their own national interests. Secondly, even under the Stalin regime, the steady expansion of the movement to embrace 40% of the world's population placed an enormous strain on the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Such a doctrine could not securely encompass the complex, highly diverse and rapidly changing world-wide processes. Thirdly, the Communist form of nationalism today is partly, if not largely, the reaction against the excessive internationalism — really only disguised Russian nationalism — of the Stalinist

era. Both the peoples and the rulers of the Communist countries are alert to the need for avoiding such errors now.

In the face of these harsh facts of life, the Soviets in Russia have watered down considerably the binding tenets of their doctrine, reports this analyst. They accept many models of "socialism" now, and permit more diversity in the relations among Communist states. All of which means, he explains, the relativization of the doctrine and the erosion of its binding force. And it is his further conviction that all this "revisionism" and tendencies toward deviation are bound to continue and intensify.

Interestingly, this work draws an analogy between Russia's criticism of China and the opinions voiced in the early 1920s by the Social Democratic leaders of the Second International against Lenin's Third International. The emphasis on peace, coexistence and economic achievement are something of a repetition of the earlier Socialist criticisms of Communist revolutionary strategy. As the Socialist-Communist argument mounted, the gap between them widened, and eventually the Socialist participated in coalition governments and adjusted themselves to the notion of a very gradual reform. This, the work under review states, could happen to the Soviet Union and its allies, none of which any longer believes basically in the feasibility of the "old-fashioned" revolution. It concludes that this gradual decline in the revolutionary orientation of the Russian leaders, together with their growing recognition that a nuclear war could not bring about a Communist victory, and their increasing stress on economic competition leaves room for some optimism concerning a future adjustment with the non-Communist world.

THE 25 MISSILES

The *China News Analysis* of June 28, 1963 has published the famous letter of President Mao of Red China to President

Krushchev of Soviet Russia. It contains the 25 points for discussion at the talks between the countries.

The 25 points can easily be divided into two sections, the first 16 explaining how the communists — all the communists of the world — should behave in the present world, and the rest explaining how the communist parties should run their own affairs and how they should co-operate. The following is a brief summary.

In the World

1. Whether to admit that it still remains for one third of the world's population to carry their revolution to the end.
2. The 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Statement seek to bring the proletarian world revolution to complete victory and to establish a new world without imperialism.
3. The general line is "*a line of boldly arousing the masses*", and not one of peaceful co-existence.
4. In the contemporary world there are four contradictions: between socialists and imperialists, between the proletariate and bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, between oppressed nations and imperialists, and between the imperialist countries themselves. These will lead to popular revolutions.
5. It is erroneous to deny these above mentioned contradictions and to say that contradiction between socialism and capitalism will disappear with economic competition.
6. There are 13 socialist countries (Cuba and Albania included but not Yugoslavia). The touchstone of authenticity is whether a communist party wants unity or whether it follows the policies of the Yugoslav revisionists.

7. Resolute opposition to the U. S.

8. The whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

9. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the proletarian parties must learn to master all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. In countries which have recently won political independence, they must liquidate the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction. They must work in a united front formed with progressive people in the bourgeoisie.

10. In the imperialist and capitalist countries, the respective communist parties of Europe, America and Japan are exhorted to teach the working people in struggles to oppose war preparations to defend world peace, and maintain their own ideological independence. They must unite all the forces that can be united on a broad front. They must educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit.

11. There is no possibility of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

12. All social revolutions in the various stages of history of mankind are historically inevitable and governed by laws independent of man's will. The proletarian party must analyse the concrete situation and put forward correct strategy and tactics and guide the masses to the inevitable goal.

13. Actively support the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and aid the revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries. Peaceful competition cannot provide a substitute for revolution.

14. Revolutions should not be made through a third war, (although some time ago Mao welcomed a third war

to make revolutions possible). But national wars and revolutions should be formented. Only the victory of socialism all over the world will remove the causes of war.

15. The emergence of nuclear weapons cannot alter the law of class struggle. Nor can they be banned. However not nuclear weapons, but man is the decisive factor.

16. Peaceful co-existence is not an "*all inclusive, mystical book from Heaven*" capable of every success. It is wrong to make peaceful co-existence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

Within the Camp

17. Within a socialist country class struggle will continue as an objective law independent of man's will for a long period, since there are the overthrown exploiters, new elements of capitalism the bourgeoise merging in the ranks of the working class, while from outside is the encirclement of international capitalism.

18. Dictatorship of the proletariat is still necessary. There is no such thing as a non-class or a super-class State.

19. Similarly, one cannot speak of the "party of the entire people".

20. Certain persons have violated Lenin's integral teachings about the inter-relation of leaders, party, class and masses. There is no opposition between leaders and masses. (This is an open attack on Krushchev for his attack on the leadership of Stalin).

21. Also should be condemned the action of any socialist country that selfishly demands that other fraternal countries should serve its needs, and thinks only of its own national well-being exclusively. (The Soviet control of the Eastern European countries is here denounced.)

22. There are no superior parties. Therefore the programme decisions and line of one party should not be declared the 'common programme' of the international communist movement, or be imposed on other fraternal parties. It is in this context that Albania is defended by Mao.

23. Certain persons attempt to introduce the Yugoslav revisionist clique into the socialist community and believe that dogmatism and not revisionism is the main danger.

24. What is a genuine and what is a fake revisionist party ? The fake party is bourgeois, nationalist and revolutionary.

25. Moscow is challenged to publish the writings of Peking, as Peking has published in full the Russian documents criticising her.

Sequel

Moscow refused to publish this letter. This brings the conflict one step further, from the party to the state level. Meanwhile North Korea has come out in favour of Peking.

One may speculate on why the 25 points were published three weeks before July 5, the date of the meeting. Why has Peking now become a defender of Stalin, when she lived under him in abject dependence. Is it only to irritate Khrushchev ? Human actions, concludes the author, are governed both by rational and irrational motives ; the irrational assertion of power is here strongly in evidence.

Book Reviews

SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY *by W. T. V. Adiseshiah,* Institute of Social Sciences, Loyola College, Madras, 1963, pp. 172, price Rs. 7.75.

This is the second in a series of text books for students of psychology and social work, produced and published the author.

The present study has a foreword by Prof. Sir Frederic Bartlett of Cambridge University, under whose direction and guidance, the author took his doctorate in psychology.

The book has 12 chapters in all with a glossary of terms and an index. The entire field of Industrial Psychology is well covered. The subject has been well divided and the matter has been prepared with a view to clarity and sustained interest. For beginners in industrial psychology, this book will prove to be a handy companion. Especially in India, where most of the students have to depend on expensive American or British texts to obtain their first insights into industrial psychology, Dr. Adiseshiah's book will be an excellent substitute.

One advantage of the book is that it does not convey an impression of being a foreign text. Some of the charts are drawn from familiar Indian experience, as for instance the chart on the organizational structure of a small sized industrial concern.

Where the book suffers is the brevity with which some of the matter is treated. A bare skeletal description of various tests is not likely to satisfy the student's curiosity or increase his knowledge. The subject of Job analysis and job specification should have been dealt with at greater length. These are important topics in India just at present, when even labour unions are getting interested in these matters. On the other hand, the chapter on Supervisory and Executive Leadership is excellent.

A second edition of the book will definitely require an expansion of many of the topics treated in the text. Perhaps more illustrations from an Indian industrial background could be worked into the text to make it more suitable for the student from this country.

HOW THE ECONOMY WORKS, *"Leader's Guides" Series*, No. 1, published by the International Action for Cooperative Development, Louvain 1962. pp. 60 price 10 Belgian francs, or 20 U.S., or 1 sh. 5 d.

This is the first of a series of manuals published by the International Action for Cooperative Development. The purpose of this series is to help solve the specific problems of popular leaders, heads of rural communities, trade unionists, heads of cooperatives and young intellectuals, who may wish to participate in the development of their country.

The manual under review has been written in a simple matter-of-fact style and deals with some of the basic concepts in economics like needs and commodities ; production and distribution ; price, income and money ; the factors of production ; credit, saving and investment ; and the market. Within this compass a fairly clear and vivid picture of the basic economy of a country is sketched.

The series seems especially directed to the people of the under-developed countries. If that is so, the eleven manuals that are still to appear should somehow be illustrated with conditions as they are in those countries. Otherwise the gap between the economic institutions which flourish in the developed countries and the same which fail when transplanted to the soil of an under-developed country will never be closed.

There is no doubt that the series of manuals is a worth while effort on the part of the department for International Action for Co-operative Development, and its director, Professor Rezsohazy. Even if it does not quite succeed in analyzing and describing the economic situation as it obtains in the under-developed countries, it will definitely succeed in giving a clear summary of the situation in the developed countries, a situation that the 'tiers monde' is trying to establish.

News and Comment

The Prohibition Committee

The Prohibition Committee is on its rounds through the country. The Study team headed by Justice Tek Chand met government representatives and leaders of the public, social workers and trade unionists, in Maharashtra in its attempt to carry out its terms of reference which explicitly state that it must advise on the best means to administer the law in regard to prohibition. Its experience in Bombay was fairly typical. While the Ministry and the Congress party officials were convinced that prohibition was a success and therefore should continue, there was a large section of private opinion that was equally convinced that the prohibition policy had totally failed, and should be scrapped. The Tek Chand committee has not been set up to decide whether prohibition should be continued or scrapped, but to see how the programme can be better implemented. This limitation naturally places the committee in an awkward position.

In Poona members of the Congress Party openly assailed the prohibition policy. The President of the Poona District Congress, Shri Umedrao Mate, bluntly told the committee that "the abolition of prohibition was the best way of minimising the ill effect of liquor on any kind of society." And he continued, "the majority of the people — those who never touched liquor — feel that prohibition should be scrapped forthwith to prevent any further mockery of the sense of morality."

The ill effect of prohibition on public administration was made clear in the statement of the Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, who said that the bootleggers spread wherever the dry law was enforced, and had completely corrupted the state machinery used to enforce the law.

Indeed it is paradoxical that the great supporters of the dry law should be the bootleggers themselves. The Chief Minister of the state of Maharashtra once inadvertently stated in public that one of the deputations that had waited on him for the continuation of prohibition and to oppose any relaxation, he had

discovered later, consisted of bootleggers.

One may well imagine the difficulty of the task before the committee. Should it be bold enough to place the facts before the government, or should it tone down the criticism with the usual cliches of misunderstanding and opposition due to party prejudice.

The Tarapur Atomic Plant

By an agreement with the United States, India has secured a loan of $80 million or Rs. 38 crores to finance the country's first atomic power station. The Tarapur plant will have a capacity of 380,000 kilowatts. When it is completed it will be one of the largest sources of its kind in Asia. The energy will be supplied to the Electricity systems of Maharashtra and Gujerat.

Some interesting details about the loan of 80 million dollars are that the foreign exchange will be given through the Agency for International Development, and will have a term of 40 years with no payments of principal for the first ten years. The loan will carry a credit charge of three quarters of one per cent. In addition the U. S. government will provide the initial uranium fuel charge, estimated to cost about $15 million on a long term deferred payment basis. In all, the U. S. foreign exchange assistance will amount to over Rs. 45 crores or about $95 million.

It is true that the needs of industry in the country are rising rapidly and it is expected that there will be a serious shortfall of power by the end of the third plan.

Power Failure in Madras

One of the States badly hit by the shortage of electric power has been Madras, where the delay of the monsoon had lowered the level of the lakes to such an extent that except for essential industries, a 100 per cent cut in electric energy was declared throughout the state. Fortunately by July 4th the emergency in electric power was beginning to be dissolve after the heavy rains in the catchment areas had raised the level of the water in the lakes.

The effect of the cut in power has been disastrous for many producers. The textile mills had virtually to stop production of cloth and yarn. Even the engineering units in Madras, which are engaged in supplying nearly the whole of their output to Defence, were not able to operate

for more than two days in a week. The loss in production of all industrial units in the fortnight without power is estimated to be over Rs. 15 crores. The loss can only be partially made up because many of the units are working on a three shift basis and the lost time cannot be regained in these cases.

Because of the scarcity of water and the uncertainty of the monsoon, Madras will have to depend on thermal capacity rather than on hydel capacity for its supply of electric power. As a matter of fact, the State authorities have several projects for increasing the thermal capacity for the production of power in the state. This can be done by larger imports of coal by sea to provide the fuel. Obviously, the costs of production are bound to rise, but the loss to production is far greater when there is a failure or a cut in power.

Foreseeing the difficulties of being too dependent on the monsoon, private enterpreneurs in Madras state proposed to put up their own thermal plant. The State Government was in favour of the scheme. But the Central Government turned it down on purely ideological grounds. Power was to be the monopoly of the public sector. The power cut and the economic losses suffered by the State have definitely affected the popularity of the Congress Government in Madras. And the voter would be doing the right thing in casting his vote against such ideological pigheadedness.

International Monetary Fund

The International Monetary Fund has a new Managing Director Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors in the person of Mr. Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, a Frenchman. Mr. Schweitzer is currently Deputy Governor of the Bank of France, a post he has held since 1960. He was born in Strasbourg, educated at the University of the same town, and later at the University of Paris. He joined the French Government in 1936 as an assistant *Inspecteur des Finances*. He gradually rose to the position of Financial Attache at the French Embassy in Washington and then returned to France to become a Director of the Treasury, and finally a Deputy Governor of the Bank of France.

Public Morality

The morality of politics has never been rated very high. All the same certain standards of decency are expected to be maintained. The Profume affairs

in the U.K. has nearly toppled the Conservative government. And it is not only the security aspect of the case that has frightened the people. If the moral behaviour of the chosen delegates of the community can sink so low, social life itself becomes endangered. All this points to the fact of the necessity to maintain certain moral standards for the common good and welfare of the country.

Despite all its claims to high spiritual ideals, our own country has not escaped its share of scandal in public life. The recent Serajuddin affair has brought about the resignation of K. D. Malaviya, the Central Minister for Mines and Oil, besides implicating both the present chief minister of Orissa and his predecessor. Another investigation into the accounts of Bird and Co. of Calcutta already seems to threaten the reputation of other important people high up in government circles.

Corruption in public life is a commonplace all the world over. In older regimes, either monarchic or oligarchic, many of the sordid details were glossed over by mutual arrangement of those in power for their own preservation. But in a democracy, it is difficult to hide such venality. In a free parliament, an inquiry can be instituted and the whole case laid bare before the public. There is no escape. When many such cases are discovered, the citizen does begin to feel depressed and wonder at the lengths to which even high principled men will step in their efforts to accumulate filthy lucre. One disadvantage in India is the fact that most of our politicians are not men of means and substance as they are in other countries. This is an extenuating circumstances that explains to some extent the ease with which they will allow themselves to accept gratification for public service.

Yet Malaviya has been defended by a certain section of the press who maintain that the main reason for compelling him to leave the Cabinet was not the charges of illegal gratification as the fact that he is a professed believer in the communist ideology. The ousting of Malaviya is blamed squarely on the right wing in the Cabinet. It is strange how people can at this late hour when India is fighting for her independence in a life and death struggle with Communist China attempt to justify the retention of a man with communist leanings in the highest council of the land. It is

strange how minds can become so warped as not to realise the inherent dangers of such a policy. Passion and prejudice can identify the most contrary objects to suit their standards. It is a pity that there are still people of this kind among us. It is these pseudo-democrats that are a real danger to the state.

Financing the U. N.

At the recent session of the General Assembly of the U.N. which began on 14 May and ended on 27 June, the Assembly laid down general *principles* to serve as guide lines for the sharing of costs of future peace-keeping operations involving heavy expenditures by the U.N., decided on the arrangements for the *financing* of the U.N., Emergency forces in the Middle East and the Congo, appealed for the payment of *arrears* in respect of the Emergence forces and agreed to the desirability of studying the set up of a *Peace Fund*.

Among the general principles, it was recognised that the financing of peace-keeping operations was the 'collective responsibility' of all Member States, and that the economically more developed states were in a position to make relatively larger contributions; voluntary contributions should be encouraged; the General Assembly should pay special attention to the member states that are the victims of the events or actions leading to the peace-keeping operation.

As for arrears of payments, the Assembly was convinced that states which objected on political or juridical grounds to pay their assessments for the Emergency forces, expenses, would make a special effort towards solving the financial difficulties of the U.N.

Consumers Preference in Germany

Although the German people have always been rather favourable to beer as the national drink, coffee is on the way to becoming quite as popular. The use of coffee in West Germany has risen five-fold in 11 years, while beer-drinking has increased by only three and a half times. On the other hand, twice as much wine and champagne was being consumed in 1961 as in 1950, and four times as many cigarettes.

National Telex Service

From the 24th of June when it was inaugurated, the National Telex Service has provided teleprinter subscribers to communicate with one another by automatic dialling. The new exchanges

have been installed at Calcutta, New Delhi, Bombay and Madras. The annual rental for the telex connection will be Rs. 800. Charges for the transmission of messages will be levied at rates depending on the distance and duration of the call. For instance, a call from Delhi to Bombay will cost 40 nP for 12 seconds. It has to be noted that the existing service from Bombay to Ahmedabad is to continue and that Ahmedabad will soon be linked up with the other four centres.

Economic Criteria for Backwardness

The States of Maharashtra, Gujerat, Mysore and Punjab have adopted economic criteria in place of caste to determine 'backwardness' for the grant of scholarships and tuition fees. The annual income limit prescribed is Rs. 1200 in Gujerat, Maharashtra and Mysore, and Rs. 1000 in the Punjab.

Wage Costs

It is interesting to note that wage costs per unit of production have risen faster in West Germany than in any of the other important industrial countries in the last four years. They have risen during a period when wage costs per unit of production have decreased in some countries. From 1958 to 1962, per unit wage costs in West Germany rose by 16 per cent, as compared with the rise of 12 per cent in the United Kingdom and 7 percent in France.

National Accounts

The Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics for the year 1962, published by the Unted Nations, contains some interesting data. The comparison of gross national output per head is made by reduction of the various currencies to their United States dollar equivalents.

For example in 1961, the United States had the highest *per caput* product ($ 2,572), followed by Canada ($ 1,774), Sweden ($ 1,592), Switzerland ($ 1,571), New Zealand ($ 1,439), Luxembourg ($ 1,438), and Australia ($ 1,380).

At the other extreme, more than half of the countries and territories in Asia and Africa had per caput products of under $ 100.

Using the more complete data for the year 1958, the *Yearbook* shows that only 17 per cent of the countries had *per caput* products exceeding $ 500, and fewer than half of these exceeding

$ 1000. Of the remaining countries with *per caput* products below $ 500, more than one-third fell below the $ 100 level.

For the world (excluding the centrally planned economies, viz. the Soviet countries and Mainland China), total gross product in 1958 amounted to $ 884,000 million, or $ 471 per head. The United States alone accounted for 46 per cent of this total and almost equalled the combined product of Europe, South America, Asia and Africa.

The total product of the developed areas of the world was almost five times greater than that of the under-developed areas. But since the population of the former was only one-half of the latter, (617 million versus 1,259 million) the *per caput* product was about 10 times higher.

Although the total product of Asia was three times larger than Africa, it was lower on a *per caput* basis because of the proportionately larger population of Asia.

Growth Rates

A table in the *Yearbook* shows the average annual rates of gross domestic product measured in constant prices for over 50 countries during the decade 1951-61. In about half of the countries, the rates ranged between 3 and 5 per cent with about one fifth under three per cent. Japan, Israel and Trinidad led the list with growth rates of between 9 and 10 per cent. Other countries with high rates were Taiwan (7.5 per cent) Federal Republic of Germany (7.2 per cent), and Venezuela (7.2 per cent). At the other end of the scale were Argentina (1.9 per cent), Ireland (1.4 per cent), Morocco (0.9 per cent) and Paraguay (1.4 per cent). No country experienced a negative rate of growth.

The picture is somewhat different for annual growth rates of *per caput* product, because of differences in rates of population growth between countries.

A majority of the countries listed in the table had positive *per caput* rates under 3 per cent and over one third had rates between 3 and 7 per cent. Three countries (Morocco, Paraguay and Syria) experienced negative *per caput* rates because their populations increased faster that their real products.

Japan achieved the highest per caput rate in Asia (8.4 per cent), the Federal Republic of Germany

the highest in Europe (6.0 per cent) and Venezuela the highest in South America (3.1 per cent). Both Canada and the United States had very modest rates (0.6 and 0.9 per cent respectively).

The *Yearbook* also notes that growth rates in the eastern European countries, where the concept used is *not* material product at constant prices, varied from 5.5 per cent for Hungary to 9.9 per cent for the USSR. Hungary also had the lowest *per caput* growth rate (4.8 per cent) and Yugoslavia the highest (8.1 per cent).

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